2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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The Beach in Sanur

[Facing P. 12]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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Today the beauty of the Balinese has been exploited to exhaustion in travelogues and by tourist agencies, but as far back as 1619 records mention that Balinese women were in great demand in the slave markets of Bourbon (Reunion), where "they brought as much as 150 florins." The traffic in Balinese slaves continued until 1830, and today there is a colony of Balinese in Batavia, the descendants of former slaves. Their reputation for beauty is well justified: the majority of the population are handsome, with splendid physique and with a dignified elegance of bearing, in both men and women of all ages. From childhood the women walk for miles carrying heavy loads on their heads; this gives them a great co-ordination of movement, a poised walk and bodily fitness. Old women retain their strength and do not become bent hags. We were astonished at times to discover that the slender, straight silhouette we had admired from a distance belonged to an old lady with grey hair, walking with ease under forty or fifty pounds of fruit or pottery. Unless physically disabled, elderly people never admit that they are too old or too weak for activity; to "give up" would be dangerous to physical and spiritual health and would render a person vulnerable to attacks of a supernatural character.

Ordinarily free of excessive clothing, the Balinese have small but well-developed bodies, with a peculiar anatomical structure of simple, solid masses reminiscent of Egyptian and Mycenæan sculptures: wide shoulders tapering down in unbroken lines to flexible waists and narrow hips; strong backs, small heads, and firm full breasts. Their slender arms and long legs end in delicate hands and feet, kept skilful and alive by functional use and dance training. Their faces have well-balanced features, expressive eyes, small noses, and full mouths, and their hair is thick and glossy. Because they are tanned by the sun, their golden-brown skin appears generally darker than it really is, and when seen at a distance, people bathing are considerably whiter around their middles, where the skin is usually covered by clothes, giving the impression that they wear light-coloured pants. Watching a

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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of pure European stock, the rest being Eurasians and certain Balinese, Javanese, Chinese, and Japanese who are given equal standing with Europeans by a decree making them "Staatsblad Europeanen."

For those interested in knowing something of the racial origins of the Balinese, it may be added that they are by no means a pure race, but a complicated mixture of the native aborigines, with superimposed layers of higher cultures of various types.[1] The Balinese are descendants of a pure "Indonesian" race mixed with the Hindus of Central and East Java, who were themselves Indonesians of Hindu culture, with Indian and Chinese blood. To these mixtures are further added traces of the Polynesian and Melanesian, the result being a picturesque variety of types among the Balinese: from the noble Hindu and Northern Chinese, to the Malay-Javanese, Polynesian, and even Papuan. While some have sleek hair, high nose bridges, and cream-yellow skins, some are dark and curly-haired like South Sea Islanders. Some have large almond eyes, often with the "Mongoloid" fold, convex

[1] The ancient inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago were "Indonesians," also called Malayo-Polynesians, Austronesians, Malaysians, and so forth. Of these, pure branches are to be found today in the Dyak of Borneo, the Batak of Sumatra, the Toradja of Celebes, and the Igorot the Philippines. They are called by anthropologists "Proto-Malaysians" to differentiate them from the "Deutero-Malaysians," those with Hindu, Chinese, and Arabic mixtures.

The original Indonesians perhaps came to the islands long before our era, probably from Southern China about 2000 B.C. (Heine-Geldern), found extremely primitive aborigines of the Vedoic or Negrito type already there, perhaps the most undeveloped form of humanity. The Indonesians spread their culture over the islands and introduced the cultivation of rice, outrigger canoes, domestic animals — pigs, dogs, chickens, and water-buffaloes — ironwork, mats, pottery, megalithic monuments, and probably the making of tapa cloth. They were often head-hunters and cannibals, and Dr. D. J. H. Nyessen suggests that they may have been the ancestors of the Polynesians.

The islands were at the crossroads of the ancient sea-routes, favoured by winds and currents, so the natives mixed freely with the peoples of neighbouring regions: India, China, Arabia, and the Melanesian and Polynesian islands. The Hindus established great colonies that became powerful empires, like Madiapahit in Java and Srivijaya in Sumatra, and they exerted a marked influence upon the Indonesians, but they did not come in great numbers and were eventually absorbed. The same happened to the Chinese, who had come to Java since the beginning of our era, and it is possible that part of the army of Kublai Khan became incorporated into the native population around 1292, when Chinese influence predominated over the Hindu. I have been told by Chinese scholars that at one time they considered Bali as their colony.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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noses, and fine mouths; others have the concave, flat, broad noses, the squinty eyes, bulging foreheads, and prognathic jaws of the more primitive Indonesians. Thus the Balinese of today are the same people as the Hindu-Javanese of pre-Mohammedan Java, in the sense that they both underwent the same racial and cultural influences.

THE ANCIENT SURVIVAL: THE BALI AGA

At one time the island was populated by pure Indonesians, an ancient people who filed and blackened their teeth. They lived in small communities, family clans ruled by a council of Elders who acted as the priests of their religion. Their cult centred in the worship of the powerful spirits of nature, and especially those of their ancestors, with whom they continued to live, a great family of both the dead and the living. Occasionally, by means of mediums and sacrifices, they brought their ancestral spirits down to this earth to protect them. They buried their dead or simply abandoned them in the jungle to be carried away by the spirits, and it is possible that they even ate parts of the bodies in order to absorb the magic power inherent in their ancient headmen.

The pure descendants of these people, calling themselves Bali Aga or Bali Mula, the "original" Balinese, still live, isolated and independent, in the mountains where they found refuge from imperialistic strangers. Hidden in the hills of East Bali, near Karangasem, lies the village of Tenganan, where the most conservative of the Bali Aga preserve the old traditions with the greatest zeal. Tenganan is a rabidly isolated community, socially and economically separate from the rest of Bali, almost a republic in itself. It is shut off from the world by a solid wall that surrounds the entire village, which is meant to keep outsiders away, and is broken only by four gates, each facing one of the cardinal points. Of these gates, three open to the gardens and plantations of the village, but the main gate is so narrow that a stout person has difficulty in squeezing through. Such is the obsession for

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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Such is the obsession for
184 isolation in Tenganan that there is an official specially appointed
361 to sweep the village after the visits of strangers, to obliterate their
[609] footprints.

We became acquainted with I-Tanggú, a youngish man with
[115] fingernails four inches long, who was the *perbekel* of Tenganan, the representative of his village with the Dutch Government. We were surprised to find him quite sociable. Once we played host to him in Den Pasar and from then on we were often invited to visit Tenganan. Unlike the rest of the villages in Bali, there is hardly any vegetation around the Tenganan houses, which are all exactly alike and are arranged in rows on each side of stone-paved avenues. In the central place is the council house where the Elders meet, a long shed about ten feet wide by some seventy feet long, strongly built and apparently very old. Farther along are other buildings for public use, the purpose of some kept
[252] a secret. The most curious are the unique mill for grinding *kemiri*
[788] nuts to obtain oil, and the wooden Ferris-wheel, usually dismantled, in which the women revolve for hours in a strange rite.
342 The dwelling of I-Tanggú is just like all the others: a small gate reached by a flight of steps leads into a court in which are the sleeping-quarters, the kitchen, and a long house for relatives and
[775] for storage. There is also a small empty shrine where the spirits may rest when they visit their descendants.

184 The people of Tenganan are tall, slender, and aristocratic in a
[142] rather ghostly, decadent way, with light skins and refined man-
[302] ners. The majority of the men still wear their hair long. They are proud and look down even on the Hindu-Balinese nobility, who respect them and leave them alone. They live in a strange
423 communistic or, rather, patriarchal-communalistic system in which individual ownership of property is not recognized and in which even the plans and measurements of the houses are set and alike for everybody. The village of Tenganan owns communally enormous tracts of fertile and well-cultivated lands that fill every need of the village and make it one of the richest in the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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854

A baby of Den Pasar

[P. 406 (⊗)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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291

ABOVE: Old men from Sanur

BELOW: Two boys from Sebatu

[P.406 (XL)]

2. Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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291

Gebrag, a famous legong dancer

[p. 406 (XII)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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Mario

2: Covarrubias, R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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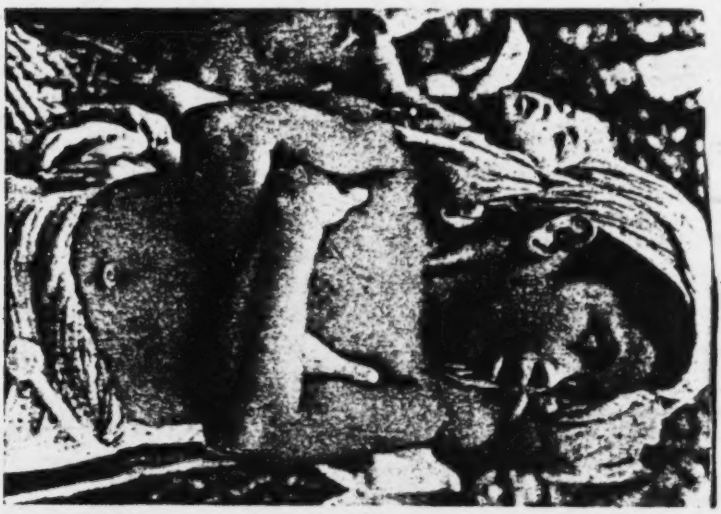

Watching a play

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

142
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A proud grandfather

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Mahluk

Tiiblun

[P. 406 (XVIII)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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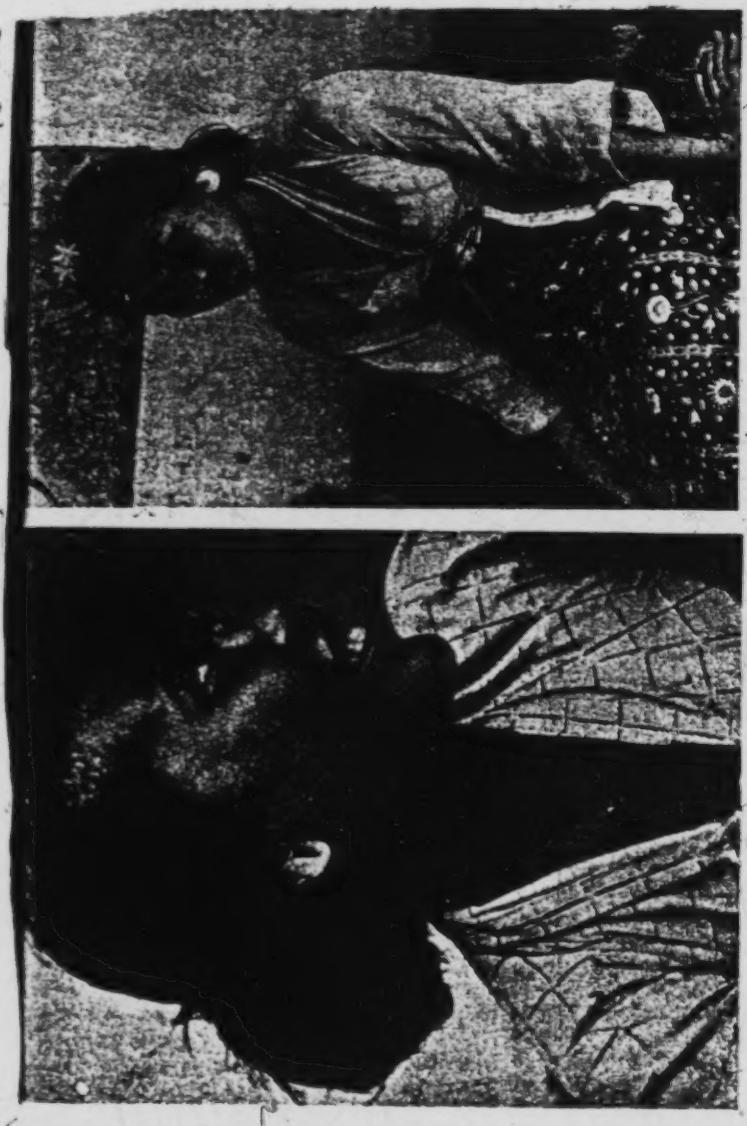

Ayu and Tjamplong in modern dress

[P. 406 (~~XIX~~)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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[516]

ABOVE: Three generations

BELOW: Three men from the mountains

[P. 406 (XX)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

●142

[301]

[756]

Six Balinese types, the old man a witch-doctor

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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Irsak with a rice pestle

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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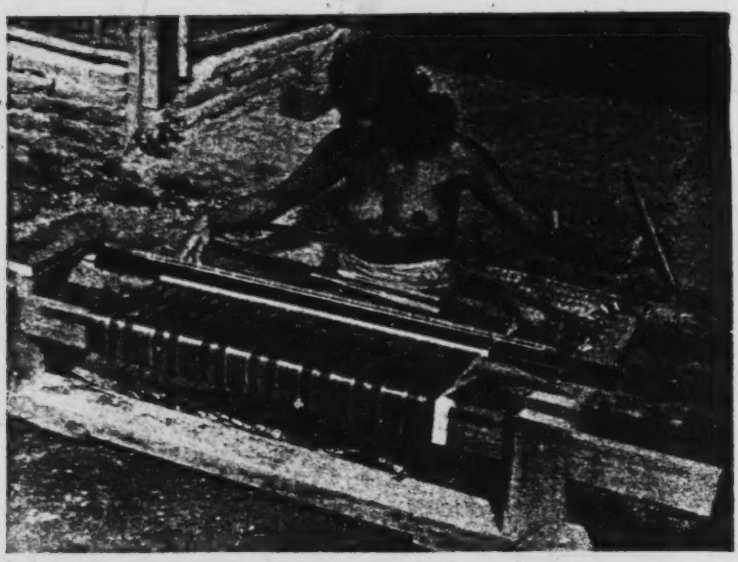

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ABOVE: A noblewoman at her loom

BELOW: For banquets men prepare quantities of saté, turtle meat en *brochette*, broiled over a bed of hot coals

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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[415]

The old and the young sell their wares side by side

At noon the market is at its height

[P. 406 (~~XXVII~~)]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

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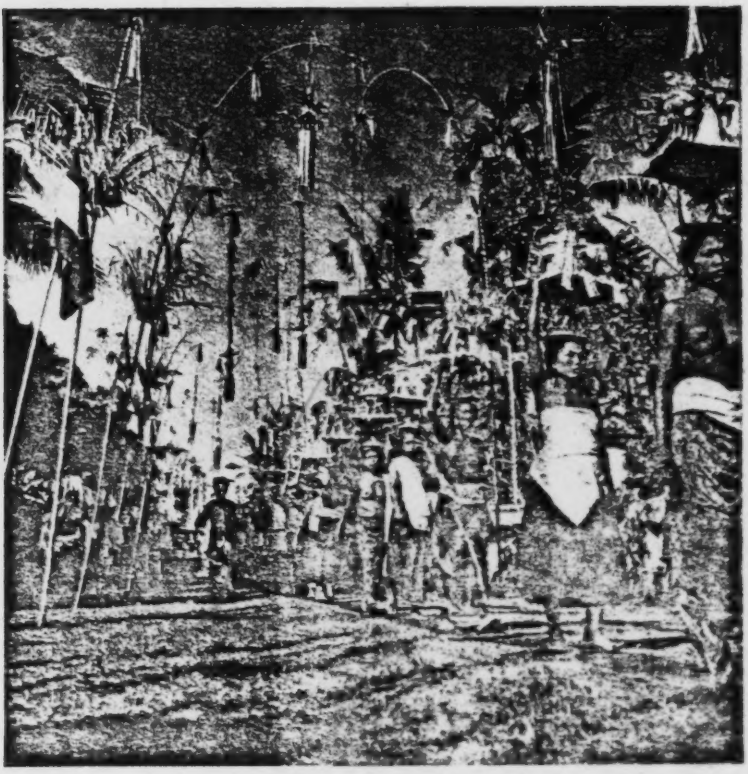

Procession, bearing offerings to the temple. The roadway is decorated with bamboo poles (*penjor*).

FRONTISPIECE
[opp. title page]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

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782
796

Women present offerings before the shrines

[opp. p. 16]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

PLATE IV

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The priest, the *pemangkoe dêsa*

[opp. p. 33]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

*796
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293

Méndàt (or *gabor*), dance with offerings. Note the *gegolock* puppet in the waistband.

[opp. p. 48]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

PLATE VI

*796
535
●142
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293

Légong, a classical dance offered as part of the celebration

[opp. p. 49]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

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534
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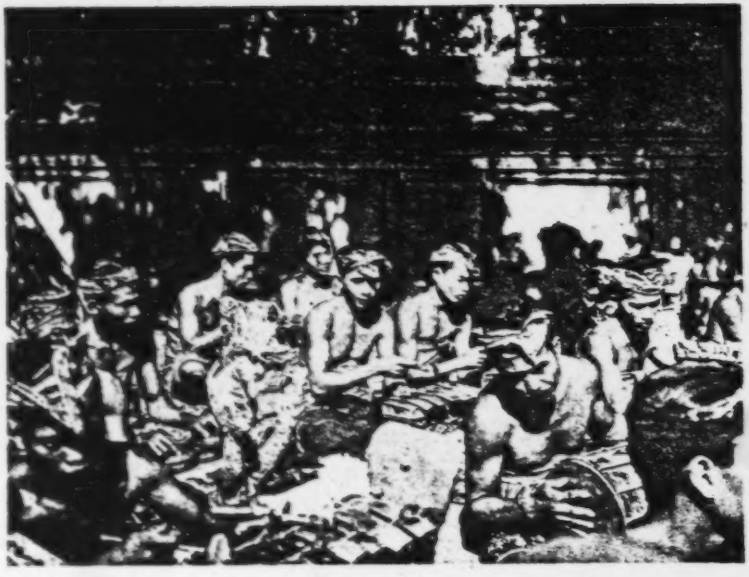

The *gamelan* orchestra plays throughout the three days of the festival

[opp. p. 64]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

PLATE VIII

*796
396
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241

Dawn of the last day of the festival

[opp. p. 65]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Ball OF7

represent the firm. For the temple, certain offerings are customarily prepared by men, others by women. But the work is shared out according to households; and if during the preparatory days the man is busy working in the rice fields, his wife may represent his household at the temple, or if she is busy at home, he may go in her stead. All the working of the village life is built up out of these household units, and it is for this reason almost unthinkable to remain unmarried. Bachelors and old maids are practically unknown.

When a child is born no special point is made as to whether it is a male or a female. It is like a little god, newly come from the heaven of the gods, perhaps an ancestor returned to earth. At three months it is taken for the first time to the temple to make its obeisance at the shrine of the Recorder of Births. From this time until the time of its losing its first teeth (*meketoes*), the child has a status of maximum innocence and purity; it is the nearest thing to a god which man may know. It is made much of and adored by both parents, whether it be male or female. After the age of six, the difference in occupation begins to effect a certain typing according to sex which was not evident up to that time. Little boys do herding of ducks and cattle in the fields, while little girls carry water and help their mothers in the household tasks.

When they begin to wear clothes, the *kamben* worn by boys and girls is almost identical, and, even among adult men and women, the difference between men's dress and women's dress is only a slight difference in the tying of the cloth or in the length to which it falls below the knee. Up until the last generation both men and women had long hair, and even today most priests still wear their hair long. In physical type, too, there is little difference between males and females. Both are slender and have relatively wide shoulders and narrow hips, a strong straight back, erect carriage, smooth muscles, and a smooth skin practically without body hair. The men have no beard, and their features do not differ markedly from the women's. It is not at all unusual to mistake a man for a woman, or a woman for a man, even at a few paces' distance.

This merging and indeterminacy of the sexes is to some extent offset by certain rules of behavior. For example, a man sits crosslegged, while a woman sits with both legs to one side. Or a man climbs coconut trees, a woman weaves. Thus, if it is impossible to tell whether a figure is male or female by looking at it, one may be able to tell by the way it is sitting or by what it is doing. And when we find, as we occasionally do, individuals who wish to be of the opposite sex, it is precisely by doing such things as climbing coconut trees or weaving that they express this wish.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

the Balinese mother smiles upon her son when she has taught him to say and feel "*Sing bani*," when she has taught him fear.

That this tie up between the mother and fear exists in Bali there can be no doubt. But that the Rangda should be construed as Mother Figure representative of the total feeling toward the mother, and that this substitution should be carried over into adulthood until the young man looks forward to marrying a girl who will turn into a witch, "marry a woman whose attitude toward human relations will be exactly that of his own mother,"[38] is a point of view with which this writer does not agree. Rangda serves only as a representation of the fear aspect of the Mother Figure. There is a split in the feeling toward the mother, the destructive, witchlike, devouring, and deathly side of her represented in the Rangda, which Mead and Bateson have stressed, and the loving, beautiful, food-giving aspect of the living woman.

Balinese women are famous the world over for their beauty, their grace, and their graciousness as people, and of this quality the women themselves do not seem unaware. The men, equally handsome and graceful, are appreciative of the gracious quality of the female and remark upon a pretty face, a beautiful breast, with connoisseurship such as they apply to the arts. Women who bear children are highly valued, and the importance of having issue is in this culture equal for the male and the female. Women cook the daily rice, which is holy. The making of the little rice goddess, Dewi Sri, at each harvest time from the first cut sheaf is apparently an Old Indonesian rite, representative of both the food giving and fertility aspects of the female. At New Year's time, before each house is hung a *lamak*, a palm leaf panel with cut out designs in highly stylized Old Indonesian patterns. On each panel, executed in a distinctive manner in each village, is a stylized tree, probably a male symbol, and a *tjili*, a lovely slender lady with triangular body and a circular headdress. This *tjili* figure has been identified with Dewi Sri, with the *dedari* (*widadari*, Sanskrit *vidya-dhari*), heavenly nymphs, in whose name the little girl trance dancers (*sang hyang dedari*) are invoked. A myriad of different forms among the offerings and the receptacles for the soul in post-mortuary ceremonies recall this graceful, somewhat infantile female figure. It seems that we are dealing here with a prototype of the feminine spirit figure from Old Indonesian times, brought down to us more or less intact in the *tjili* patterns and carried over, with necessary modifications, into the Hinduistic death ritual where needed. Covarrubias[39]

[38] Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 36.

[39] Covarrubias, 1937, pp. 172-75, 177, 179 and 181.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

PLATE IV

[142]

The "ceremonial seating" of the *sadegs*, or gods' spokesmen, for the feast and the godly conversation.

Child dancers, inside the temple. Note fearsome male and female figures as "temple guardians."

K. M. and one of the child dancers, observing dancing.

Two of the baby dancers, 1939. (*Photos author.*)

[End Plate 4, following P. 62]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

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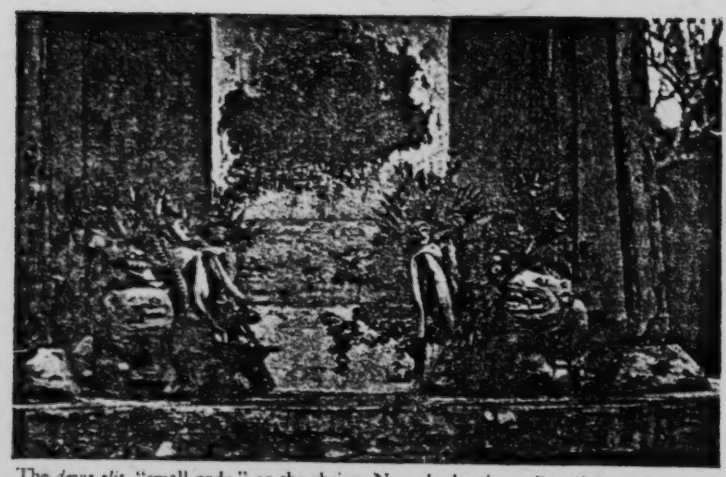
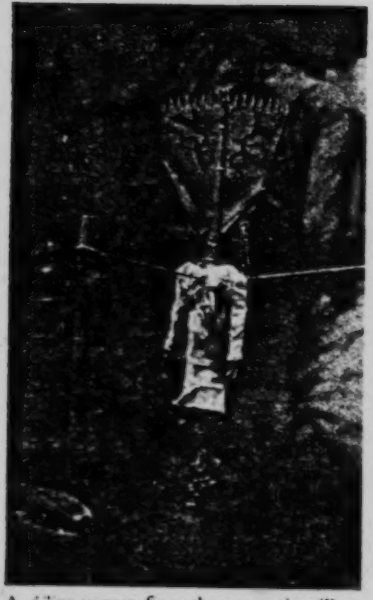


The *dewa alit*, "small gods," on the shrine. Note the leonine *pelinggihans* or mounts. (*Photo author.*)



A *déling* puppet from the mountain village of Bajoeng Gede. (*Photo Gregory Bateson.*)

Dancer and child dancer. Note likeness of pose. (*Photo author.*)

[142]

[End plate 5, following P. 62]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

PLATE VI

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292
142

One of the *daha*, maidens, in ceremonial dress at a festival in Tenganan Pagringsingan, an old style village. Late 1930s.

A child actor, in friendly conversation with a group from different villages. At left the priest, at right a musician and a caretaker. Late 1930s. (*Photos author.*)

[End Plate 6, following P. 62]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

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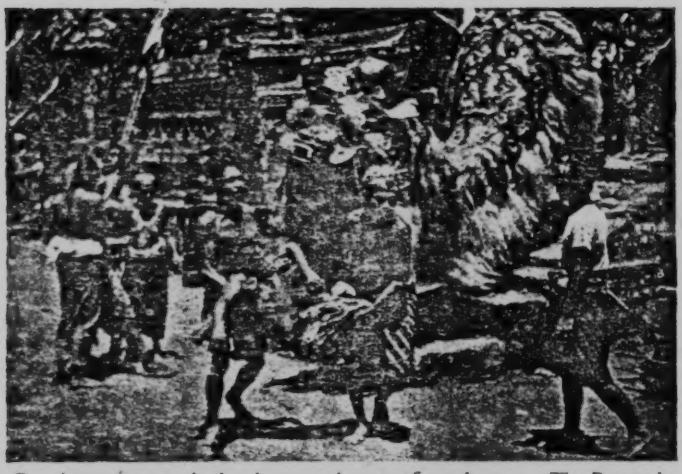
[532]



Carrying a trancer who has lost consciousness from the scene. The Barong in the background. (*Photo Gregory Bateson.*)

Forcing a trancer under the elevated mask of the Barong, in order to bring him to himself. (*Photo Gregory Bateson.*)

The trancer is "smoked," to bring him out of trance. Note that he is held around the neck. (*Photo E. Sutherland.*)

[183]

[End plate 7, following P. 62]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

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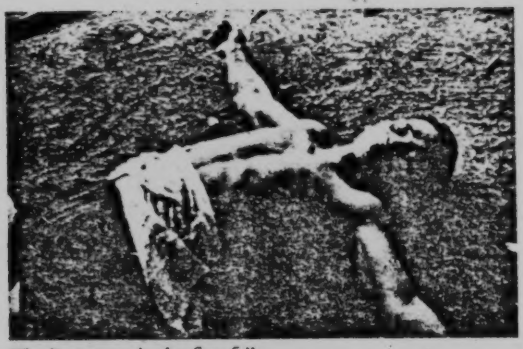

The limp stage in the first fall.

The contracting stage, which follows.

The "fighting" stage, as trancer is "disarmed."

[End Plate 9, following P. 62]

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

[P. 490(A)]

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Photo Walter Spies.

1. The parents with the twin, the grandmother holding the pusuh.

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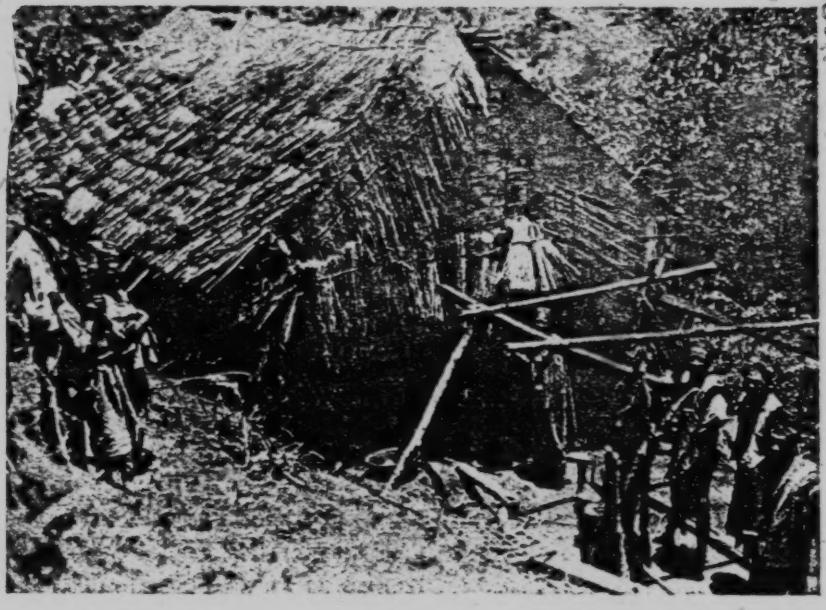

Photo Walter Spies.

2. The big kubu for the exiles.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

*845
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Photo Walter Spies.

7. *The sèngguhu rings the bell, while the balian blows the conch.*

[178]
[142]

Photo Walter Spies.

8. *Calling the bad spirits to the feast.*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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Offering maker with *lis*.

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Bali OF7

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Balinese Women

[101 cont.]
000 people during the first year of marriage.
621
651 [102] The villagers also have financial duties; they must pay for the dèsa festivals and ceremonies through the patoeroenan a tax payable in money. To provide the dèsa treasury with money

[142 291]

Balinese Family Group
Photo. Kolonial Instituut, Amsterdam. Coll. Aug. de Wit.

[541 525] cock-fighting also is organized, and a portion of the betting money exacted.

623
[805] Village Meetings. These usually take place once a month (the Balinese month has 35 days), in the village temple at full moon and in the temple of the dead at new moon, or, in the old-fashioned dèsa, in the balé-agoeng erected in the forecourt of the
[624] village temple. The evening before the meeting the messengers of the klian summon the villagers on the signal block.